

Sociological Dimensions of Inclusion and Exclusion¹

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PREAMBLE/POSTSCRIPT:

The Research Committee on Migration of the International Sociological Association was founded a little over twenty-five years ago. I was on sabbatical in Australia when Norman Ryder wrote to me on behalf of the ISA, inviting me to become the first President of the Research committee. The first conference of ISARC31 was held, in October, 1973, at the University of Waterloo, Ontario. It was titled "Policy and Research on Migration: Canadian and World Perspectives". (The proceedings were subsequently published in a special issue of the IMR, Vol. 8 Summer, 1974.)

The first meeting was organized by the founding Secretary of the Committee, Daniel Kubat. It was a modest event compared with the present gathering, here in New York. However, the subjects dealt with were familiar, including sessions on immigration policies, one on the so-called "brain drain" from developing to developed countries, which was a matter of some concern to the UN and others at that time. Further sessions dealt with immigrant adaptation, internal migration and urbanization, and with return migration. There were workshops on research and policy formation, theories and methods of research, and the difficulties of undertaking comparative research. In a concluding address, on that occasion, I referred to the complexity of migration as a social process and the interdisciplinary nature of the field. I argued a case for a multivariate "systems" approach, in which the interdependency of the many variable would be taken into account. I expressed the hope that the formation of the ISA Research Committee on Migration would encourage sociologists to undertake more systematic comparative studies, as well as developing more sophisticated theoretical models.

Attending the first meeting were a number of leading scholars of migration, including the late Dr. Gunther Beijer of the Netherlands, whose pioneer work on refugee migration, after World War II, and his co-founding of the Research Group on European Migration Problems, led to his subsequently being awarded the title of Honourary Life President of the ISA Research Committee on Migration. Gunther Beijer (Beyer) was born in Germany in 1904, where he studied social economics, later obtaining his doctorate at the University of Basel in 1934. He moved to the Netherlands where he was involved with the Dutch resistance, and in assisting many refugees during and after World War II. For these efforts he was subsequently awarded the Nansen Ring. He published and edited numerous works on international population movements, on refugees, on rural to urban migration, and on the question of the "brain drain".

There were other distinguished sociologists of migration at that first RC31 conference. As well as a number of Canadian scholars, the participants included Roger Bohning from the ILO, Ernst Gehmacher from Austria, William Glaser, with Ann and Everett Lee from, the USA; Sheila Patterson from the U.K., and Francesco Cerase from Italy. The latter followed Dan Kubat as Secretary, and later became President of the Committee. I handed over the Presidency to H-J. Hoffman-Nowotny of Switzerland in 1978. His work was very influential in extending our understanding the relation between geographic and social mobility, and the phenomenon of temporary worker migration in Europe.

Papers were presented at the first conference dealing with both external and internal migration in Canada, the United States, Europe, Australia, and one paper on Malaysia. Notably absent was any discussion of migration in other parts of Asia, Africa or Latin America. To some extent this omission was remedied in later conferences, which were held

in various countries. However, as a committee we have yet seriously to address migration issues in Africa, currently a region of great population turmoil. This may be due, in part, to the difficulty of African scholars in attending World Congresses, and other international meetings. It was further limited by the banning of the South African Sociological Association from the ISA, until the *apartheid* regime came to an end. Happily, our colleagues in South Africa are now fully integrated, and a joint meeting of the ISA and the SASA was held in Durban, in July, 1996. ISARC31 was not represented at those meetings, which I was able to attend, although RC44 on International Labour Movements did organize sessions in Durban.

This brings me to the question of overlapping jurisdictions among Research committees. In the 1970's the ISA Council was concerned at the proliferation of new research committees, and endeavoured to persuade some committees to amalgamate, suggesting for example, that RC5 on Race and Ethnic Relations might join with the RC31 on Migration. At the time we resisted the proposal on the grounds that our mandate included internal migration, which would be lost if migration was subsumed under "Race and Ethnic Relations". However, a number of joint sessions of RC5 and RC31 have been held at World Congresses since then. The subsequent creation of RC44 on "International Labour Movements" exacerbates the problem of overlapping jurisdictions and interests.

The study of migration is an inter-disciplinary field to which valuable contributions have been made by philosophers, lawyers, historians, geographers, economists, political scientists, social psychologists, and others. Despite many advances, we still have not demarcated a specifically sociological dimension to the analysis of migration that is congruent with, and derived from, the advances that have been made in other areas of sociological theories and methods. My

own work has been profoundly influenced by the sociological theories of Anthony Giddens. Although his own writings do not address the subject directly, I believe that they are helpful to our understanding of internal and external migration in the context of postmodern, globalized systems.

Today, there is a growing consensus among economists and sociologists that labour markets are international, and that human capital needs to be highly trained, and mobile, to take advantage of technological change. Interestingly, this was a conclusion that Gunther Beijer reached thirty years ago. In a paper that Beijer published, in 1969, he reviewed modern patterns of international migration. His conclusions are still relevant to our concerns with immigration research and policy formation today, particularly as we face a backlash against immigrants in many countries. He wrote:

"...a positive interpretation of the phenomenon 'international migration' is quite possible. The free movement of individuals in Europe, and the international migration to overseas countries, have general sociological effects; they affect international social security regulations and security laws, they make educational and vocational training necessary in sending and receiving countries and, last but not least, raise wage levels and improve working conditions. But the greatest social benefit of international voluntary migration, though there are social costs, is the opportunity to reduce narrow nationalism in Europe and other parts of the world..." (Beijer, in Jackson, 1969: 59).

Beijer went on to say that greater international planning and cooperation in the distribution of human capital, world-wide, was needed. I hope that the deliberations of this conference will help us to understand the processes of inclusion and exclusion we face today, and that they will be as fruitful as those we held nearly a quarter of a century ago, when ISARC31 was first formed.

Anthony H. Richmond, New York, 7, June, 1997.

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The world is now a total system experiencing radical structural changes, political, economic and social. The impact of these changes is particularly evident in respect of transportation, communication and the transmission of information and pictorial images. Some experts now claim that we live in a "borderless world"(Ohmae,1990). However, although money, goods and services may move relatively freely, people do not. Processes of inclusion and exclusion occur within and between countries and regions. Irrespective of geographic distance, some individuals and collectivities are fully incorporated into the advanced industrial economy of this emerging global system, while others are marginalized. The concept of "time-space distancing", introduced by Anthony Giddens, is helpful in understanding the processes involved.

Time-Space Distancing

Formally, Giddens defines "time-space distancing" as "the stretching of social systems across time-space, on the basis of social and system integration"(Giddens,1984:377). Instantaneous communication means that distances in space and time have become insignificant. Although face-to-face contact is not eliminated, electronic media and satellite links facilitate interaction over long distances. The co-ordination of political, economic and social action by individuals and collectivities is made easier, indeed it becomes imperative.

Giddens further defines "time-space edges" as "connections, whether conflicting or symbiotic, between societies of differing structural types"(ibid). There is a close link between the concept of distancing and that of power. The co-ordination of social systems across time and space involves the resources which, in combination, create structures of domination (Giddens,1984:258). It is this which gives rise to the process of structuration which, in turn, both constrains and enables human agents to effect change. In this connection information is an important resource which may be stored and retrieved. The accessibility of information is an important component of power relations, and its dissemination by postmodern means of communication has fundamentally altered structures of domination. It has also had a profound effect on patterns of international migration.

Giddens recognizes that social interaction takes place across time and space, that it is mediated through language and that the concept of globalization is closely linked to "time-space distancing" through the acceleration of communications(Giddens,1991:1-34). He uses the term locale, rather than "place", suggesting that the settings of interaction are not limited by purely geographic boundaries. Interaction is regionalized and may extend narrowly, or broadly, in time and space. It is characteristic of postindustrial societies, using advanced means of transportation, satellite communications, information storage and retrieval, that the process of distancing is stretched as never before.

A further concept used by Giddens in connection with the separation of time and space is the disembedding of social systems from the local context (Giddens,1990:20-29). He notes that in advanced societies (which he calls post-traditional), organizations and networks connect local and global in ways

that were not possible in traditional communities of the *gemeinschaft* type, which are bounded geographically. Money and information (symbolic tokens) flow freely across borders. In turn this increases risk and requires greater measures of trust. Giddens defines trust as "confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events"(op.cit:34). The absence of trust gives rise to chaos, or what he calls a "careering juggernaut"(ibid:151-4). It is also a factor contributing to large scale reactive migration.

Power

The ability to "harness the juggernaut" depends on relations of power and the distribution of resources. "Power in the broadest sense is a means of getting things done. In a situation of accelerating globalization, seeking to maximize opportunity and minimise high consequence risks certainly demands the coordinated use of power" (Giddens,1990:162). Power is implicated in all forms of action whether co-operative or conflicting. It requires the organization of resources as means toward the achievement of goals. These resources may be individual or collective. They are both material and symbolic. In Giddens' terminology material resources are allocative and symbolic resources are authoritative (Giddens,1984:258-62). The principal components of power in a behavioral context are both individual and collective and require mobilization to be effective. Information flow and the management of communication systems play a key role in this process, including the management of consent and dissent (Richmond,1994:6-11). Inequalities are not just material as Scott Lash puts it, 'life chances' now depend as much on one's place in the mode of information as in the mode of production (Beck et.al.1994:120-21).

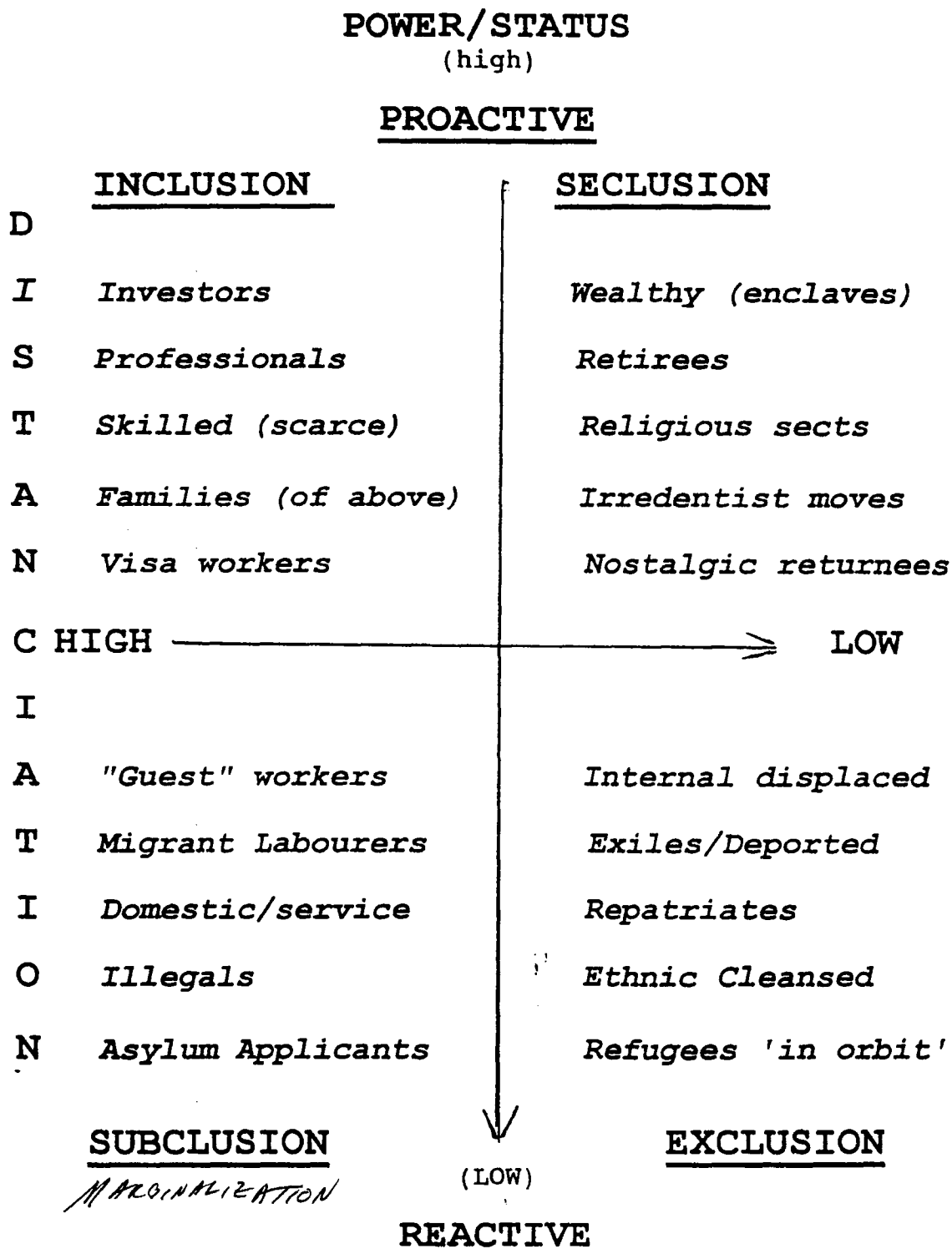
Neither material nor symbolic resources are distributed equally between individuals and collectivities. This asymmetrical distribution gives rise to 'structures of domination' embedded in political, economic and social institutions which can be oppressive. Giddens (1981:60) emphasises that exploitation is more than purely economic in form. It can occur whenever power is used to for sectional interests at the expense of other individuals or groups. Exploitation can be physical or psychological. It implies the manipulation of others through ideological indoctrination, as well as material deprivation. In relation to migration those who have power and status are *proactive*, meaning that they are able to act rationally in their own interests determining whether to move, where and when to go with a minimum of constraint on the decision making process. In contrast those with little power may be forced to move by the economic or political situation in which they find themselves. It is important to recognize that there are degrees of freedom and constraint, and not a simple dichotomy between voluntary and involuntary migration (Richmond,1994:47-74).

Global Systems of International Migration

When the differential distribution of power in the world system is combined with varying degrees of distanciation, a fourfold classification is possible as shown in **Figure 1**. Within the world system, all the types of migration indicated in the chart may occur at any time, creating a turbulent climate for change and indeterminate outcomes. Within a given region or country, at a particular time, there will be a greater probability of certain forms, although more than one may be present. The balance may shift as power is re-distributed and distanciation increases.

Figure 1.

GLOBAL SYSTEMS OF MIGRATION



When power and status are relatively egalitarian, and resources are accessible, there are two possibilities depending upon the degree of distancing. They are *inclusion* (i.e. coaptation) and *seclusion* (i.e. voluntary isolation). When power and status are unequal a structure of domination is created; the resulting typologies are *subclusion* (i.e. subordinated ethclass relations), or various forms *exclusion*, (i.e. the coercive separation of peoples). Both the distribution of power and the degrees of time-space distancing must be conceptualized as continua, so that a four-fold classification necessarily oversimplifies. Within each category there is room for substantial variation.

Inclusion (Coaptation)

Given the distribution of political and economic power in the global capitalist system, those with capital to invest together with those who manage these resources are generally welcome in receiving countries. They have few obstacles placed in the way of their temporary or permanent settlement in other countries, either developed or developing, democratic or former communist. People with money or skills (i.e. human capital) are able to move comparatively freely. Their relationship to residents of receiving countries is best described as "coaptation". The term "coaptation" is preferred to earlier formulations such as "assimilation" "adjustment" or "adaptation", because it emphasises the fact that everyone is obliged to come to terms with the reality of multitudinous changes shaping contemporary societies. There is a sense in which everyone, sedentary populations and movers alike, are "immigrants" to the twenty-first century. Postmodern societies are changing so rapidly that sedentary populations may be obliged to adapt more radically than those who migrate. They have no choice but to respond to the cosmopolitan transformations in their own neighbourhoods.

Subclusion (Ethclasses)

Migrants who are low in power interact with receiving societies in subordinate status positions, undertaking work that is poorly paid and largely rejected by the resident population. I use the term "subclusion" synonymously with the term "undercasting" (Hoffman-Nowotny, 1981:74-5). That is to say, persons denied full citizenship rights and permanent residence in the place to which they have moved.

The systems of ethnic stratification in contemporary postindustrial societies differ from those in earlier stages of industrial capitalism in that the formations are global. Whether as a consequence of the mobility of capital (and capitalists) or the demand for cheap labour for agricultural and service occupations, there are no effective national boundaries. Entrepreneurs with money to invest have little difficulty obtaining residence permits, immigrant status, or even citizenship, of the countries they wish to operate in. This is not the case for those who bring only their labour or who are deemed alien in language or culture. (Richmond, 1994)¹. At the same time, while states reserve the right to control movement across borders and endeavour to prevent "illegal" immigration, mass migration occurs with or without legal sanction. People flock from less developed to developed countries, and regions, to perform menial or dirty work, perform domestic services, or to supply field labour for agro-business. This category also includes some reactive migrants who succeed in moving to a country prepared to consider asylum applicants, although not necessarily award them Convention refugee status.

The situation is currently aggravated by the structural changes that are taking place in the global capitalist system as a result of technological innovation, international competition, the availability of cheap labour in developing countries, and economic recession. Processes of inclusion and

exclusion occur within, as well as between, countries. The dismantling of the "welfare state", privatizing of many services, the removal of established "safety-nets" and the substitution of "workfare", are all symptomatic of a shifting balance of power in the global system. The consequent vogue for "downsizing", and the de-industrialization in some advanced societies, has ironic ethnic consequences. It is precisely those who have enjoyed the greatest privilege in the past, namely the unionized (mainly "white") blue collar (and some clerical and service) workers, who are being made redundant. There is a consequent reaction against employment equity and affirmative action programmes, which previously favoured women and visible minorities. Young white males see themselves as victims of systemic discrimination. When unemployment is high the result is alienation, and increasing support for a right wing political agenda and neo-fascist movements. Racial and ethnic prejudices are inflamed. A shift toward coercive exclusionary measures, or what I have called "global apartheid" then occurs (Richmond, 1994).

Exclusion (Apartheid)

Literally, apartheid simply means separateness. In practice, as politically institutionalized in South Africa, it was a system of oppression by a minority of mainly European (British and Dutch) origin against the majority of African, Asian and mixed ethnic origins. By denying the vote, allocating people to Reserves or "Homelands", using "pass laws", controlling education, imposing residential segregation, restricting access to better paid jobs, outlawing mixed marriages, and using military means, exile and imprisonment to suppress dissent, the government exercised totalitarian control over the lives of the majority.

The South African case is only one extreme version of a process which can be seen at work in other parts of the world, where a combination of inequality and low distancing combine to create forms of coercive separatism. Censorship and other barriers to communication may be instituted in order to reduce, or eliminate, outside influence.

In its most extreme form exclusion leads to genocide i.e. the systematic large scale extermination of a racial or ethno-religious group perceived as threatening. Since the atrocities in the former Yugoslavia the term "ethnic cleansing" has been used to describe such attempts. Other less extreme manifestations lead to the partition of territory, the expulsion, exile or deportation of minorities, and/or the repatriation of those previously allowed refuge or asylum. Struggles for power between rival ethnic groups have become militarized in the post cold war era, as formerly totalitarian regimes lose their dictatorial control and monopoly of weapons. Terrorism is one result.

The large scale movements of refugees that have occurred in eastern and central Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America are the victims of these power struggles. Developed countries in western Europe, North America and Australasia are reluctant to give asylum to those who seek to escape persecution. Many internally displaced persons, as well as escapees from war-torn countries, environmental disasters and economic crises, (together with those who cannot prove that they personally have been, or could be, victims of persecution), are being denied refugee status, using a strictly narrow interpretation of the Geneva Convention criteria².

Various practises are used by wealthier countries to manage and control population movements. They involve classifying people according to their perceived eligibility to enter, or remain in, a particular territory. As in South Africa, the instruments for the enforcement of global apartheid are interdiction, passports, visas, residence permits, work permits, denial of citizenship rights (including access to education, government funded health and welfare services etc.). The forcible repatriation of refugees to "Homelands", or so-called "safe third countries", is now standard practise, together with the deportation of "illegal" immigrants.

These forms of state control of immigration are seen as a legitimate response to the de-stabilizing effects of large scale migration. They are discriminatory by "race" because four out of five refugees and asylum applicants come from, and are obliged to remain in, Third World countries; Africa and the Middle East carry the heaviest burden, followed by Asian countries. There are an estimated 16 million "Convention" refugees, and many more externally and internally displaced persons today. Governments now use advanced technologies to maintain data banks on suspected terrorists, known criminals, asylum applicants and alleged "illegal" immigrants. They institute "early warning systems" against mass migration, train airline officials in the checking of documents to facilitate interdiction, and enforce the "non-exodus" of unwanted populations. Electronic fences replace barbed wire and brick walls, while police and soldiers continue to back-up immigration officials at borders, and gun boats support the coast guards as they herd people into internment camps, pending repatriation.

Attempts to limit the flow of refugees and asylum applicants, are part of a growing nostalgia for a less complicated world, in which people felt secure in homogeneous communities, where neighbours shared 'traditional' values. It

is also a reaction to the insecurity felt by many faced with a rapidly changing global society. This is evident in the growth of racism, xenophobia, religious and ethnic conflict in various countries, including those which have traditionally been receptive to both political and economic migrants. Politically, it is expressed in the coordinated efforts of countries in western Europe, North America and Australia to deter asylum applications and limit mass migration to these regions. There is a growing fear in Europe concerning the possibility of mass migration from east to west, and an equal concern about the potential flow from south to north, including those from Mahgreb territories, of the southern Mediterranean and Africa, to Spain, Portugal, France and Germany.

Recently, new immigration legislation was introduced in several countries, including Britain, Germany, the USA and Canada, which severely restricts the number of successful asylum applicants. Various countries have introduced legislation that requires refugees to be fingerprinted, restricts access by asylum applicants to public housing, permits deportation where an asylum claim has been refused, and requires air lines, or other carriers, to ensure that travellers hold a visa to enter, or even to pass through one country en route to another. Potential refugees must have their asylum claims processed in the first "safe country" they land in³. This gives rise the phenomenon of "refugees in orbit" when no country wishes to accept them.

Seclusion (Separatism)

The fourth category of migration, both international and internal, arises when power and status are relatively high and time-space distanciation is low or, at least, people wish to minimise its consequences. This may be achieved by what Giddens calls "disengagement from the hostile

other"(Giddens,in Beck et.al.,1994:105). Its symptoms are evident in the increasing number of people, particularly the wealthy, who live in walled communities, surrounded by security guards. Retirement communities, religious sects⁴ who set up communes, and returnees who have a nostalgic desire to rediscover their roots, are among the migrants in this category. Others include those who move as a result of irredentist efforts to reunite particular ethnic communities that have been separated by arbitrary political boundaries. Other examples include the flight to suburbs of formerly dominant ethnic groups when faced with the increasing racial and ethnic diversification of global cities, and the proactive emigration of wealthy elites when faced with a major shift in power relations, such as has occurred in South Africa.

Conclusion

In a recent study of immigration and what he calls the "New World Worker", economist Nigel Harris argues the case for removing all barriers to immigration in the interests of a global free market economy. He foresees a situation in which, as transport grows faster, people will live in one place and work in another, as indeed city commuters do already. He says, "At an extreme, the entire labour force might live outside the country"(Harris, 1995:225). He points out that, already there are software programmers living in Bombay but, technically, working in New York! If such a situation were to become the norm it would, indeed, be the logical outcome of "time-space distanciation" taken to its ultimate conclusion. Such a development is extremely unlikely to become universal. Distance education is one sphere where it is feasible, but other services, such as health care, domestic help, and the cleaning and maintenance of buildings and public utilities, all require workers to be present in a particular location. There are physical limitations to the impact of time-space distanciation on social systems. Food can

be imported and goods manufactured abroad. Financial transactions, computer programming, architectural and engineering designing, data processing and TV entertainment can all be provided from a distance. In an emergency, expert advice may be transmitted to a surgeon, or other specialist, from a distance, *but someone must carry out the operation on the spot*. If you want your haircut, your floors swept or your appendix taken out, you will need someone close by who will do it. Modern communications technology will not eliminate the phenomenon of migration, but it will undoubtedly revolutionize it in many ways.

In a global economy based on completely unregulated free market principles, the rich would continue to get richer, and the poor relatively poorer. Politically, such a system would be even more unstable than the world in which we live at present. Globalization, whether driven by market forces or technological innovation, will not eradicate poverty, reduce inequality or prevent civil wars of the kind that have devastated Cambodia, Rwanda, Zaire, Yugoslavia and Albania. We can be sure that both proactive and reactive migration will continue on a large scale, and remain a source of concern to policy makers and to academic researchers, in the 21st century, as it has in the twentieth. The ISA Research Committee on Migration will continue to have a challenging agenda in the years to come !

Notes

1. Laxer (1995:299) notes that "While millions of desperate migrants are turned back at borders and many others endure exploitation and abuse as illegal aliens, rich foreigners have recently been give special treatment". He cites Canada, the USA and Australia, who admit entrepreneurs for a price ranging up from a quarter of million dollars.
2. The 1951 UN Convention on Refugees (as amended in New York,1967) was a product of the "Cold War", and is inadequate for today's political and economic crises. The Convention, as interpreted by Canada and other countries, places the onus on the individual seeking asylum to prove that they would be personally at risk, if returned to their former country. Only a small proportion of all asylum seekers, globally, are successful in their claims, and their is enormous variation from one receiving country to another in acceptance rates (Hathaway,1996).
3. For a detailed account of current practise and suggested reforms of refugee law see Hathaway and Dent (1995) and Hathaway (1996).
4. The recent spate of millennial related mass suicides may be understood as the ultimate expression of this propensity to escape contemporary realities and seek seclusion, through the migration of the soul to another level or planet !

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